

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

and the extended household preserved the structure in spite of numerous separations of individual families.

When marriage was by exchange of gifts and a feast, and the husband lived with his wife's people, he held prior claim to the wife's sisters as they became of marriageable age, and such marriages were encouraged.

Older brother-younger brother (mu'kas-mi'cu'ka).—The bond between brothers was very strong. It was based on common blood and residence and included all in the household who stood in an older brother-younger brother relationship. There was no distinction between siblings and children of the mother's sister if all had a common residence. Older brothers cared for their younger brothers, taught them games and the care of the horses, and teased each other mildly. Quarrels were rare and soon forgotten. The older brother who had participated in the ceremonies would urge the younger brother to follow his example and would assist his younger brother in collecting materials to be presented to the father's clan. If the younger brother showed little interest in fasting or ceremonial participation, the older brother could and frequently did severely criticize him. If a brother were killed in battle, his brother was expected to inflict self-torture and to revenge his death. He also had first claim to his brother's widow, and she could not marry until he made known his intentions.

When grown up and married, brothers co-operated in providing for their mother's household. Brothers co-operated in the purchase of ceremonial bundles and rites. This intimate bond continued for life and was extended to include mother's sister's son's and father's brother's sons, the feeling of nearness being determined by residence and participation in joint activities.

Older sister-younger sister (mirukE'-ptq'ka).—The bond between sisters was very strong and was based largely on common blood, mutual activities, and lifelong residence together. No distinction was made between sisters with different fathers, even when the fathers were of different clans. Neither was distinction made between one's own sisters and daughters of the mother's sister if all grew up together in the same household. There was not, however, the same close bond of affection with "sisters" of the father's second wife when his second wife occu-

meanwhile her parents frequently made arrangements to bring them to the daughter's parental lodge to live. They constructed a side passage from the door so that the son-in-law could enter his section of the lodge without meeting his mother-in-law, and he was expected to remain in his quarters when she was in the lodge. When the lodge was ready, the girl's father presented her husband with a horse or other goods and invited them to live with them. 591

When a man married the oldest sister, he was entitled to marry the younger ones as they became of age by giving them horses. Her parents built additional beds in the son-in-law's section. There was no wedding feast or exchange of goods. 587 •

A third method of marrying was known as "marriage by mutual agreement." Two people attracted to each other decided to marry without consulting their parents. Sometimes a girl did not approve of her sisters' husband and decided not to marry him. She encouraged a young man so that she could get away from her mother's household. She received two or three horses from her husband and left her parents to live in her husband's lodge. If she had a number of sisters and did not like their husband, she would remain in her husband's lodge and help the women of the household. Whether or not this residence became permanent depended on a number of factors. When the lodge was already occupied by her husband's sisters and their husband, she would attempt to move out with her husband to a household of old women of her clan, especially one where there were no men to provide for the household. Eventually she would inherit the lodge, household goods, and gardens when the old people died. On the other hand, should her husband have no sisters, she would prefer to care for her parents-in-law, whom she treated as "grandparents" and addressed as such, and they would treat her as a woman of the lodge. When they died, she would inherit the lodge, household goods, and gardens. 583
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As a resident of the husband's lodge, a woman's position was subordinate to the other female members of the household group. In case of a quarrel, she was obliged to leave. Should her husband be killed or die, leaving small children and his brother was unable to marry her because of an unco-operative wife, she was sent out of the lodge and was permitted to take 592
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the Water's relatives. He demanded that his younger wife be returned on the grounds that she had a small child who was ill. The people all knew that this one was his favorite wife and that there were enough other wives and females in the lodge to care for the child. The Mandan were quite angry at Four Bears for his actions, which they did not consider worthy of a chief. A year before, Poor Wolf, the second chief of the Hidatsa, stole the wife of Flying Eagle, a Mandan, and the latter man had said, "Let him have her" and thought nothing more of it. Mandan informants were in general agreement that the Hidatsa more commonly demanded that the wife be returned.

Even when the husband accepted his wife's elopement with good grace, the couple usually encountered plenty of trouble when they returned to the village. A woman would frequently permit her husband to bring his stolen wife into the lodge when the women were close relatives of the same clan. In a few instances, the stolen wife was a younger sister of the first wife and had not been getting along well with her husband. The family had actually conspired with the man to get her back and were prepared to make payment as soon as the elopement occurred. When the elopement did not have the approval of a man's wife and her brothers, there were usually complications. She would be driven out of the first wife's lodge, and the husband was obliged to live between two lodges. The women would be jealous and carry knives, watching for an opportunity to slash each other's faces and clothing. If the first wife had many brothers, she was likely to be pretty saucy, particularly if the other woman had none. On the other hand, when the first wife had no brother while the second one had several, she would be inclined to accept the situation and get along as best she could until she had an opportunity of separating from her husband and getting another.

Marrying a brother's widow was considered the honorable way of providing for his children, in which case the man lived between two lodges. A woman having several brothers rarely married her deceased husband's brother, as it frequently meant sharing a husband with women of a different clan and household. In the event of separation or death the children were pro-

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THE MANDAN LIFE-CYCLE

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assistance and the fact that the game run into yards was divided on a moiety basis. 562 462

Households having no males suffered most in their ceremonial life. When an important tribal bundle got out of the lodge, it was usually difficult to get it back. 578

Marriage within the clan was not permitted. There was no punishment other than tribal criticism, and in the census taken as of 1870-72 only one instance was reported by informants, and all the informants questioned on this point mentioned the case. The one instance of marriage within the clan was between Standing Bear and Beaver Woman; though the tribe did not approve of the marriage, they thought that in a way it was justified, since Beaver Woman's mother suggested the marriage after both parties were over fifty-five years of age. The women were brought to Standing Bear's lodge, and the marriage was entered into after the women lost their lodge. 582

Certain Mandan clans had Hidatsa equivalents. Both had a Prairie Chicken clan; the Mandan WaxikEna clan was considered equivalent to the Hidatsa Maxoxati; the Tamisik clan was equivalent to the Hidatsa Knife clan. The Mandan were not in agreement as to the wisdom of marriage between Mandan-Hidatsa equated clans. Some treated them as separate lineages and considered marriage permissible. Bad Gun's wife's younger sister, however, refused to marry him, believing that the Tamisik and Knife were divisions of a single clan. 582 614

The Mandan claim that moieties were exogamous until after 1837 and that it was more convenient to go through the ceremonies with the wives when they were of opposite moieties, giving as the basis for the breakdown of the moieties the shortage of men. People preferred to marry into the moiety to marrying outside the tribe. 582 616

Both the levirate and the sororate were permissible. When a man married to the older sister died, a younger brother had first chance to marry the widow, which he could do with only a token payment. Such marriages were highly regarded. This was rarely done, since, with a shortage of men, the younger brother was usually already married to several women. When a wife died, the husband could claim one of her younger sisters as wife, and she seldom refused, especially if her sister had small children. 587

831 among the Arikara and Hidatsa. The men boasted their love
171 exploits, and carried often about the village small bundles of
sticks each representing a conquest, or one large stick with
stripes indicating the number; this was also a Hidatsa custom.

585 When a man wished to marry, after obtaining the girl's and
the father's consent, he led horses to the door of the father's
house and tied them there. Then the father took the same num-
ber of his own horses and tied them to the young man's door.
After this the girl cooked corn each day and carried it to the
young man's house for a certain number of days. Then the
young man went to the father's house and claimed his wife.
The young people either built a new home or lived with one of
their parents, in which case the father remained master of the
house. On marrying an eldest sister, a man acquired the right
of marriage over all the other sisters. Catlin tells us that the
girls usually married at from twelve to fourteen years of age.

858 Children were never disciplined and were always humored
601 by their parents who seemed to be very fond of them. The
606 father's brother and sister were called father and mother. The
551 mother's sister was called mother and her brother uncle.
Cousins called each other brother and sister. The mother-in-
law was not permitted to address her son-in-law till he had
come back with the scalp and gun of an enemy. Someone was
usually paid to give the child his name, which was chosen by
the parent.

776 RELIGION:—The religious ideas of the Mandans resemble in
a number of respects both those of the Sioux and the Arikara.
While there are a number of deities, there was one among them
to whom special veneration was paid. This one, the creator
of the earth and everything in it, and of men, was called the
Lord of Life.¹ Next after him came the First Man to whom
the Lord of Life gave great power and who acted as a sort of
mediator for men. Catlin says he was the only person saved
from the great deluge, and he played an important part in the
Okeepsa. He was worshipped and sacrifices were made to him.
Next was an evil spirit who, though powerful, ranks far below
the First Man. Fourth on the list was Rokanka-Tauihanka

¹ Maximilian: p. 410.

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THE MANDANS—DOMESTIC HABITS.

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privileges among these Indians. All the horses which a young man steals, or captures in war, belong to them. If an Indian returns from an expedition on horseback, and meets his sister, he will immediately alight, and give her the horse; on the other hand, if he wishes to possess some object of value belonging to his sister, for instance, a dress, he goes and abruptly demands it, and immediately receives it; even should it be the very dress she is wearing, she will take it off at once, and give it to her brother.

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Profrery is not a virtue of the Indian women; they have often two, three, or more lovers: infidelity is not often punished. There was only one woman among the Mandans, a piece of whose nose was cut off, a circumstance which is very common among the Blackfeet. If an Indian elopes with a married woman, the husband whom she has abandoned avenges himself by seizing the seducer's property, his horses and other things of value, to which the latter must quietly submit. Such a woman is never taken back. If a man has the eldest daughter of a family for his wife, he has a right to all her sisters. A chief business of the young men among these Indian tribes is to try their fortune with the young maidens and the women, and this, together with their toilet, fills up the greater part of their time. They do not meet with many coy beauties. In the evening, and generally till late at night, they roam about the villages, or in the vicinity, or from one village to the other. They have a singular mode of displaying their achievements in this field, especially when they visit the women in their best dresses. On these occasions they endeavour to gain credit by the variety of their triumphs, and mark the number of conquered beauties by bundles of peeled osier twigs, painted red at the tips. These sticks are of two kinds. Most of them are from two to three feet in length, others five or six feet. The latter, being carried singly, are painted with white and red rings alternately, which indicates the number of conquests. The shorter sticks are only painted red at the tips, and every stick indicates an exploit, the number of which is often bound up into a pretty large bundle. Thick fuses of this kind are carried about by the dandies in their gallant excursions. Among the Mandans these sticks are generally quite plain; among the Manitaris, on the contrary, there is, usually, in the middle of the bundle, one larger stick, at the end of which there is a tuft of black feathers. These feathers indicate the favourite, and the dandies tell everybody that she is the person for whom this honour is intended. (See Plate XXI. Fig. 6.)

If these people have had familiar intercourse with a person who wore the white buffalo robe, a piece of skin of that colour is fastened to the stick; if she wore a red blanket, or buffalo robe, a piece of red cloth is fastened to the stick. This custom, which is well known among the Mandans and Manitaris, has not, to my knowledge, been mentioned by any traveller.

They have distinct names for the several degrees of relationship. The father's brother is called father, and the mother's sister, mother; cousins are called brothers and sisters. The

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